
A SHORT but TRUE
HISTORY
OF THE
RISE, PROGRESS, and HAPPY
SUPPRESSION,
Of several late
INSURRECTIONS, &c.

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A SHORT but TRUE

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OF THE

Rise, Progress, and Happy Suppression,

Of several late

INSURRECTIONS

COMMONLY CALLED

REBELLIONS IN IRELAND.

In a LETTER to His Grace the
D. of N — —.

By a late eminent Citizen of DUBLIN.

Well known for his spirited Writings and extraordinary
Attachment to the Liberties of this Country.

L O N D O N printed: And
Dublin Re-printed in the Year MDCCCLX.

(Price a *British* Six-pence.)

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A SHORT but TRUE

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RISE, PROGRESS, &c.

MY LORD,



It is with a View far from
the common Motive of Au-
thors, that this short Histo-
ry is inscribed to your Name.
The Offices you bear afford
a sufficient Apology, even to an obscure

Stranger, for inscribing such a Tract to your G.

The Rank you hold in the Administration of publick Affairs, render it fit that you should be well acquainted with what passes in the remotest Parts of the Territories of our Crown. And it is presumed, that as the following is a fuller and fairer Narrative of the Facts relating to the present Circumstances of Affairs in Ireland than any that have as yet been offered to your G——'s View, it will not prove an unacceptable, though an inconsiderable Present.

If I am deficient in Forms or Ceremonials in this Address, it may be ascribed to my Ignorance solely ; for I mean to be civil and respectful, though not to flatter. If I smile or sneer sometimes, you will easily see at whom I level ; and will find it more out of Good-Humour than Choler ; though I would not be thought altogether pigeon-livered.

Now to the Purpose :

I some-

I sometimes am an humble Hearer of the important Intelligences and sage Lessons and Observations in Politics, which are retailed in the principal Coffee-houses between St James's, and the Royal-Exchange; and while my sole Intention is to read Man, I find it sometimes necessary to cover my Design, by seeming to read some or other of the Medley of News-papers that covers the Table. I was not a little surprised to find the common Topick of Conversation was the *Irish Rebellion*, as some called it; or the *Insurrection in Dublin*, as some of the more moderate Coffee-house Politicians stiled the Tumult lately raised in that City. I have heard some Gentlemen of Ireland, of Rank, asked by some Persons of Quality of this Kingdom, what News there was of the *Irish Insurrection*? and whether the Number of the Rebels in Arms were really 15, 20, or 30,000?

The Answers of those Gentlemen were delivered in a low Voice, with so much Caution and Prudence, that I could not well hear them. But they were delivered with such Appearances of Gravity and Im-

Importance, as made me judge they gave the tremendous Answer in the Affirmative, with the greatest Number ; while some Gentlemen, who wore great Wigs and solemn Aspects, which to me seemed those of Lawyers or Physicians, did not hesitate at asserting the Reality of this formidable Insurrection, from the Authority of certain great Men, whose Names they made more free with than I choose to make with that of your G, or any of your great Coadjutors.

While my Ears were stupned with these disagreeable Sounds, my Eyes, that carelessly ran over one of the Papers, were no less shocked with seeing that this was made a serious Article of News. This lead me to look further into the Papers than at first I intended : I found one News-writer asserting the Matter as Truth, with this confirming Observation, *It is remarkable that the Insurrection in Ireland began two days after the Brest Fleet sailed.* And another takes it upon him to explain the Motions, and the first Movers of this Insurrection, all taking it for Fact. What an handle our Enemies make of it, may be seen in the Bruzelle's Gazette.

But

But this, I find, is not the first Rebellion with which Ireland has been charged within my Memory, and I am not yet in the *Vale of Years*. Let me give an instance or two: In the Year 1749, we were alarmed with a dreadful Rebellion, beginning at an Election in Dublin. This, the House of Commons, without the Interposition of the military Power, quelled, by prudently preventing the City's choosing her own Representatives: For the first Favourite of the People, they banished, branded with the Charge of being a *masked Agent for the Pretender*, and an *Enemy to his Country*. And the second in Favour with the Populace, after being most fairly and incontestably elected and returned, and sworn into his Place, was dismissed his Seat for no better Reason, than because he had had Connections with the first, and was elected upon the same Interest that would have supported the Election of the Other, had he not been disqualified in being stigmatized by the House as before-mentioned. Thus ended one Rebellion by the cutting off of only two

Mem-

Members, and giving new, or enlarging the Sum and Term of old, Pensions to the then L. L. and a few useful loyal Servants.

The next Irish Rebellion of any Consequence that we heard of, was in the Year 1753. That, indeed, looked big and terrible. It was said, that the then Speaker of the House of Commons, the Master of the Rolls, the Prime Serjeant, and some inferior Barristers, with some considerable Officers in the Army, were avowedly the Ring-leaders of this Insurrection. Nay, it was no Secret, the Government seemed assured of it ; and I cannot presume your G. a Stranger to it. But, instead of sending Forces from England to reduce the *Rebels*, the Powers of the Country were found sufficient. The Parliament was prorogued, and every Officer and Pensioner of the Crown, that was found rebellious or disobedient, or connected to suspected Persons, was at once stript of Place and Pension.

After

After which, a Rebellion that looked so formidable, as to have been spoke of as such openly in the Grand Council, subsided. For the Truth of this, I venture to appeal to your G.

It was then however, a Part of the memorable Speech of one of the first of our Nobility, *that Scotland was starved into two rebellions, and Ireland pampered into one.* Some Part of this great Man's Speech was probably meant ironical. Scotland was starved by having her Trade opened and extended as far as that of England, without being obliged to support a single Pensioner, or useless Placeman ; while many of her Sons were billeted on England : And Ireland was pampered by being debarred from the common and natural Benefits of Trade ; obliged to support a large national, civil, and military Establishment, with a numberless Band of strange Pensioners, English, Scots, German, as well as Irish ; and all this, while she was denied a Mint, even for the coinage of Copper ; and the carrying above five Pounds from England into Ireland, stood prohibited under

der the Penalty of Forfeiture. No wonder, sure, they should wax fat and wanton, if not rebellious upon such extraordinary pampering ! I again appeal to your G.

It will perhaps be asked what became of the Rebels of the memorable Year 1753 ? They were quelled in the most remarkable Manner, without a single Drop of civil Bloodshed, as your G. may well remember. The Speaker was made a Peer, with a small Pension of 2000 *l.* a Year, for thirty Years. The deposed Master of the Rolls was made Secretary of State, with an Addition of about 1000 *l.* a Year to the Salary. The late rejected rebellious Prime Serjeant was made Chancellor of the Exchequer, with a like Addition to his Pay. The rebellious Pensioners had their former Wages restored, or exchanged for more lucrative Employments. And, the Gentlemen of the Sword got higher Commissions, as far as Governments or Staffs. All this is known to the principal Board at which your G. presides. Some think it no small Encouragement to such Insurrections ; but the Government is the best Judge.

Your

Your G. must now wish to know the Rise, Progress, and no doubt, the End of the present *tremendous Insurrection, or Rebellion*. Let me give it to you, upon unquestionable Authority, as concisely as possible.

This Session of Parliament, as well as the last, was opened by the present most excellent Governour, to the great Satisfaction of the People, who adoring the Memory of Lord Russell, founded the greatest Expectations of Freedom and Happiness upon the Administration of the Grandson of that Martyr for the Cause of Liberty. This will, I hope, neither surprize nor offend your G.

The Session was opened, as usual, with a Speech from the Throne, containing a Paragraph of that Kind, which the humorous People of Ireland call, the *Lullaby*; a Declaration, *that there was nothing to be asked but the usual Supplies*. This had the desired Effect. All were quiet, All content; Though not long after, a Vote of

of Credit and a Loan was demanded and granted. This was the first granted. But I will venture to say, it will be the first, if ever it be accounted for in Parliament.

Many Days of the Session did not pass, when one of the Secretaries, a Right Honourable Man, without any View to ask any Thing new, or to make any Kind of Innovation, moved for a very salutary, national Bill. He saw the Difficulties and Disadvantages of making two short Prorogations of Parliament. And would have an opening for the Government to make them as long as they should think fit, enabling them, notwithstanding, to call a Parliament as frequently as they should judge fit, upon a short and easy Warning.

With this Intent, that most honourable Gentleman, purely to serve an unworthy People, for which he has contracted, though at a short Acquaintance, the purest and most patriot Affection, moved for Leave to bring in Heads of a Bill, to enable the Government to call a Parliament, upon Fourteen Days

Days Notice, by Proclamation; and that there may be no Difficulty in getting the requisite Number to constitute an House, which some foolish, obsolete Laws provided to be no less than forty; he prudentially would have provided, that about half the old Number should be sufficient; sagaciously observing the Difficulty of bringing the Members from their Diversions here, to attend the Calls of their Country, and probably discovering, that Twenty modern Irish Members were equal to Forty, when that Number was made the Establishment, or perhaps, seeing that Twenty were more likely to do the Business of the Nation, or of the Government, with more Ease and Expedition, than Forty. Who does not admire this very Wise, this Patriot, this Pacifick Provision!

The House was not so void of public spirited Members, as to want one to second this important Motion: It was seconded. Leave was given. And the Bill was to be brought in.

You

You must know, my Lord, that the People of Dublin were well nigh ruined, with respect to political Notions, by an odd Enthusiast, or two, that sprang up among them in the Rebellion of the Year 1749. From this time, you might hear the lowest Tradesmen call themselves *free Citizens*, with more than Roman Arrogance. And not contented with that respectable Title, they, without any Sort of Ceremony, puff up their inordinate Pride with the pompous Addition of *Independent*, an Appellation which neither the old Romans, nor the Citizens of our greatest Cities in Great-Britain have been hardy enough to assume. Our *Dublin* Citizens, since that memorable Year, have been so wrong-headed as to talk of *national Rights*, of *Liberty*; of *worthy Representatives*; *sensible and faithful Constituents*, and *free and uninfluenced Electors, Elections, &c.* with various other Kinds of frantic Expressions, of the like Import.

They now read News-papers, and even the Votes of the Commons, and have more than once been audacious enough to crowd the Streets about the Parliament-House,

House, even when they were armed with Soldiers up to the Doors of the House, which is generally the Case there, two or three Times in a Session : and this very Year they gave P—t his Freedom in a Gold Box ; for which, however, the Lord Mayor and Aldermen are not to be damned.

They have been known to carry their Political Enthusiasm so far, as to talk of *instructing their own Members*. And have been even heard to assert, that *every Member of any particular Place, was a Trustee and Representative for the whole Subjects universally* ; and that *they had a Right to convey their Sentiments to the Parliament*. No Wonder such audacious Men should be called Rebels, in Ireland ; though these Things were not always deemed Criminal in England.

Those who with me judge these Notions chimerical and dangerous, to the Administration, will join also with me in the loudest Condemnation of the outrageous Mob, which so lately terrified the Parliament, if not the Government,

B

of

of ———, that great and flourishing, that pampered Kingdom, with uttering these free Sentiments, tho' in the most civil and mild Terms. These unfortunate short-sighted Creatures could not discern the most benign, benevolent and beneficent Intentions of their Governors, and the immense Good to be provided for them by this Bill. They never considered that one, not unlike this, stands enacted here. Add to this, what you will hardly believe, though I assure you, *entre nous*, that this poor infatuated People are almost thrown into Convulsions at the bare mention of an Union with this Kingdom. Now this being a favourite Topick of Conversation, in Dublin, all this Winter, may help us to account for the late Frenzies of these would-be Freemen, who are so puffed up with Pride and Arrogance, from their great Riches, evinced by the Number and Credit of their Bankers, and their extravagant Notions of Liberty, as to put me in Mind of the earth-born Giants, who dared of Old to assail the highest Heavens.—*A Court of Coblers, or a Mob of Kings.*

It

It will, no Doubt, astonish succeeding Ages, as well as this wise and happy one in which we flourish, to see the People of Ireland at this Time rise in Rebellion, when it is reflected, that while two bloody Rebellions raged in the Compass of these last fifty Years, within the Bowels of these united Kingdoms, there was not the slightest disloyal Motion made in that Kingdom. And when it is known that every Man in Ireland, qualified for it, armed, equipped, and arrayed himself in the Militia of that Kingdom, to defend it from the threatened Incurfions of the last Rebels ; it will appear still more astonishing, that a Rebellion should now be raised in Ireland, when it is remembered, that during the last actual Rebellion in this Kingdom, when the Forces of Ireland, to the Number of six or seven Thousand, out of the 12000, which is their Military Establishment, were employed in the Defence of England : even the Roman Catholicks in that Kingdom gave the Government the most convincing Proofs of their Loyalty ; so that nothing but Peace and Concord was heard

throughout the Land. And this Year, when that Kingdom, not in a much better State of Defence, is threatened with a formidable Invasion by a powerful Popish Enemy, the Irish Roman-Catholics not only addressed the Government with Assurances of Love and Loyalty, but offered to lend them their Money, to the Value of the entire Subscription demanded, an undoubted Security for their good Behaviour, as well as of their Desire to support the Government against an invading Enemy; though of the religious Persuasion the People profess.

From what Quarter then has this horrible Insurrection now sprung? It can hardly be supposed to be Papist, you see: it can not be French; it must necessarily then be Irish and Protestant too. Let us take a closer View of it; if it does not give some bold Reader the Horrors, or vanish like a Phantom while we look for it.

The Truth then, in as few Words as may express it, is, that on the great, the important Day, big with the Fate of R— and his Bill, many thousands of human Creatures, not very unlike those of Westminster

ster or London, assembled in and about the Parliament-House; they left however, to which, all the Avenues open, and gave every Member and other Person, who had Business in either House, free Access, Egress, and Regress, to use a Law Phrase. They gave in no Petition or written Demand or Instruction to any Person whatsoever; they shewed no Disposition to offend or disturb any Body: the utmost they did was to express their Jealousies and Fears, by crying to the Members as they passed, *God bless you, Sir, or My Lord, take care of your Country*; and to those that were not of the Country, they cried, *take care of poor Ireland*; while some few muttered, *no Union*. Thus, my Lord, began the memorable Rebellion recorded in our, as well as in some Foreign News-Papers, and now beginning to give another *Irish Fright* to our Women and Children.

Jealousies and Fears are bad Things in a State, or even in a private Family. And though some Politicians make them Attendants on Freedom, they are apt to

produce dangerous Effects in weak Minds; and sure none but weak Minds could harbour either of those nasty Passions, under the present wise and happy Administration in Ireland.

I have the Satisfaction of finding that the Commons of Ireland thought, in this Instance, as I do. As soon as the House sat, there was not a Member that did not know what brought together this Extraordinary, and as some Men judged it, Dangerous Concourse of People.

However, Men conscious of the Integrity, of the Purity of their Intentions, are not to be dismayed; nothing could shake the Purposes or disturb the Deliberations of a Patriot Parliament, and such, to be sure, every Parliament must be, in Ireland. But, wise Men think it right to consult their own Safety sometimes. A delicate Sense of Danger, and prudently declining it, has not been legally censured in all great Commanders, at all Times. And good Nurses have been known to throw away the Physick, when they could not readily persuade the froward Children

Children to swallow the nauseous, though wholesome Potion.

A Word to the Wife is sufficient.—

The Right Honourable Member who moved for the salutary Bill, found some Reason within himself, for nothing could have been dictated from without, to shew the Bill was not acceptable to the People; and that they suspected something that boded no Good was couched under it. He therefore took the first Opportunity of acquitting himself of the ungenerous Notions, he had some Reason to think, were conceived of him. He loudly declared his great Love for the Country, and the sincerest Intentions to prove it. But he saw with Grief, that this good Bill, though designed to do the People the most essential Service, was not agreeable to the Publick; and since they did not like it, he thought it Right to drop it, and withdraw his Motion.

It might be reasonably expected, as it probably was, that this Speech or Motion would have quieted the Minds of the Populace, and have dispersed them,

them. But they were too numerous, readily to learn and be thoroughly convinced of the Love and good Dispositions of the Right honourable Patriot towards them ; or, of his having conceived their unuttered Sentiments, and fulfilled their Desires unasked, by dropping the suspected Bill. Now, an awful Silence filled the Senate's lofty Dome : and now a confused Whisper circulated round each trembling Bench. *Says*, my Lord, makes some of his great Men whisper off the Stage, here it was not quite so convenient. The Whispers at Length, and perhaps Nothing else, reached the Chair ; and by these it was soon found to be the Sense of the silent House, that Mr. Speaker should try the Force of his Oratory, to disperse the Multitude. It is said, he did not hesitate long in fulfilling their Desires : but, that authorised by the Sense of the House, he set forth to treat with the dreaded Conspirators, that seemed to invest or surround the House ; a Mark of no small Condescension in that great Officer, as well as in the august Assembly he represented.

sented. And, I am in your G——'s Judgment, whether or no it be not to be presumed, that so great and respectable a Body as the Representative of the Nation, would not, let me say, could not think, in any Emergency, of stooping so low as to enter into a formal Treaty with what have since been declared, if not proved to be, Rebels.

I believe your G——'s Memory will serve to lead you back to many extraordinary Assemblies of People about the Parliament-House here. You can hardly forget the Multitudes that attended, let me say, determined the Fate of the Excise Bill here: yet though some few of our great Men, perhaps a Minister or two, with some Cause, trembled; yet, I do not recollect that the Speaker of either House treated with the Multitude; or that their assembling was in any Manner censured, or even recorded in the Votes or Journals of either House.

Some

Some Poet says, *Conscience makes Cowards of us all.* Whether the national Council of that Kingdom were ignorant of this Precedent or despised it, or had inward Reason to fear a People, to whom they more than once denied some small Indulgences, such as the obsolete Privilege of electing their own Members, &c. I shall not now presume to determine. Let the Motive be what it will, the Speaker, I cannot clearly say, whether before or after, adjourning the House, went forth and addressed himself to the Multitude. I mean the Mob without Doors, lest your G. may suspect I should glance at one within. He, it seems, as well as the Right Honourable Mover of this wise, though dreaded Bill, seemed to know what brought the Multitude about the House, and what they would be at. He told them he was sorry to find they conceived some Suspicions of some evil Intentions against them in the House, that they dreaded an Union, or something equally terrible was in Agitation, or intended to be moved for; and gave them Assurance, that no such Thing was moved or intended to be introduced,

duced, or should be, while he sat in the Chair,——if his Influence could prevail. He might indeed have been more positive; as Speaker and Dictator have long been synonymous Terms in that House, since the Members must have waxed wise by the long Duration of their Parliament.

I As I received these Words only at second Hand, I shall not assert them to be precisely those uttered by the Speaker. Such, however, they were conceived by the Generality who heard them, who therefore expressed their Thanks and Satisfaction in three Cheers, somewhat like our English Huzzas, and departed in Peace and Content.

The Speaker returning from his Embassy, must have reported the happy Effects of it, and must have been thankfully and joyously received.

Of any Assembly but so respectable a one as the House of Commons, one might have said, *the Assembly was confused, and the major Part knew not wherefore they*

they came together. Thus far, let it be observed, that little or no more Business was done, or could have been done on this Day; and the chief Members, as soon as they could get out, repaired to the Castle: I shall not say whether most impelled by their Fears, or the Desire of getting better Instructions.

However, they met the next Day, I suppose, according to Adjournment, when the Mob, contented with the Treaty of yesterday, kept peaceably and inoffensively at home.

The Coast being found clear, it was judged a favourable Opportunity for wreaking Vengeance on these who had interrupted the favourite Schemes and patriot Intentions of yesterday.

Your G. no doubt has seen the Votes, wherein Riots and tumultuous Assemblies of lawless and disorderly Persons appear to have disturbed the Deliberations, influenced the Councils, and struck at the Freedom, Rights and Privileges of Parliament, in a most atrocious Manner. In these

these the Lord Mayor is addressed to use his Authority in suppressing or preventing such Riots. And the Lord Mayor and Sheriffs are ordered to attend to give their Assistance, particularly in commanding military Execution, when next judged necessary.

These and the other Magistrates of the City were afterwards called strictly to Task, not only by the House of Commons, but also by a superior Power in that Kingdom, the Privy-Council; and when they declared they knew no Method of Proceeding without seeing the Offenders in the Fact, or having legal Information of their Offences; this ruling Part, and the Officers of the City were, as they judged themselves, somewhat hardly handled, having room given them to apprehend, that they were directly or indirectly charged with conniving at, if not abetting, the Insurrection.

These Proceedings distressed and hurt the most peaceful of the People, and provoked the Magistrates to the utmost Indignation. Those with whom the House
treated

treated by their Speaker the Day before, were most enraged. And they publickly vowed Vengeance on those who broke Faith with them, and stigmatized them, as a *tumultuous, riotous and dangerous Assembly*: and thinking the Credit they had reposed in the House and the Respect they owed it, cancelled by these unexpected Measures, they ran into Courses not to be defended. So boundless is the Rage of a provoked Multitude.

When Popular Distrust and Indignation are once raised, it is hard to say where they will end. The incensed Multitude now universally filled the Streets. They searched and lay in wait for the principal Objects of their Displeasure, carrying about with them publickly, the most ignominious Instruments of Death.

But these were only *in terrorem*; unless those against whom the popular Rage arose, kept carefully out of the Way; for none of them suffered.

For

For several succeeding Days the Mob stopt all the Members they met, and most impudently and audaciously took upon them to question them, and frame and administer an Oath to them. Every Man was to swear to be *true to his Country or to Ireland*, or be dirted or buffeted, perhaps both. They made many swear, and perhaps some forswear themselves. And at length ran into such Extravagances, as called for the Interposition of the military, when the civil Power was found impotent or unwilling to act.

But, here my Lord, Truth and Justice bid me observe, that no Party of the Mob molested the Country Gentlemen of known Patriot Principles. The SIXTY-FOUR who were distinguished by the Citizens with Gold Medals, for their noble Attempt to support the legal and free Election of the City-Member, in the Year 1749, were conducted or conveyed by huzzaing Mobs through the Streets. Your G. will not find it difficult to persuade yourself, that neither these Gentlemen, nor their unsought Followers were instigated

gated by French, Popish, or Jacobite Motives. Judge then, whether or no this Mob or Insurrection was influenced by the sailing of the French Fleet, or by the injurious Treatment given them.

By some unaccountable Neglect or Over-sight of former Vice-roys, no Riot-Act has yet been provided for that People, as for us. So that no military Execution can be performed, not a single Shot fired at a Multitude, without the Interposition of the Civil Power. And this Power actually refused to lead the Army, or command military Execution in this Instance; for which they were severely censured.

The Reasons of the Refusal of the Magistrates seem plainly couched in the Address of the Common-Council to the L—d L——t, which I transcribe for your G——'s Satisfaction.

To

*To his Grace John Duke of Bedford, Lord
Lieutenant General and General Go-
vernor of Ireland.*

*The humble Address of the Lord Mayor,
Sheriffs, Commons, and Citizens of
the City of Dublin, in Common Council
assembled.*

May it please your Grace,

THE Lord Mayor, Sheriffs, Com-
mons, and Citizens of the City of
Dublin, in Common-Council assembled,
who trust that they shall ever be deemed
by your Grace, as in Truth they are, a-
mong the most dutiful and loyal of his
Majesty's Subjects, do beg Leave with all
Sincerity to express our utter Detestation
and Abhorrence of those Riots and Distur-
bances, in the Course of which many re-
spectable Personages of both Houses of
Parliament have been insulted in their
Attendance upon the Business of the Na-
tion. And we do further, in the most
solemn Manner assure your Grace, that
we will employ our utmost Attention to
the Use of all proper and effectual Means
C for

for the withdrawing from Delusion, any, who, with no ill Intentions, may be misled ; and for the detecting those, if any there are, who for evil Purposes have been the Authors of that Delusion, as well as those who, under the Pretence of it, and in the Prosecution of such Purposes, have committed such unheard of Outrages ; to the End that they may be made amainable to those Laws which, under His Majesty, we consider as our Protection ; and which they have dared so audaciously to insult. And, we presume to hope, that no Extremes of Riot and Disorder, projected in the remote Parts of this City out of the Reach of its Jurisdiction ; and afterwards executed within it, with that Suddenness and Surprise as made it almost impossible for us to have prevented, shall, in your Grace's Thoughts be imputed to us as any Failure in that Duty and Loyalty which it hath ever been our highest Glory to have preserved.

The many honourable Franchises which we now enjoy, are the Accumulation of Favours granted to our City by his Majesty's royal Ancestors, as the Rewards
of

of that steady Loyalty with which we have ever adhered to the Constitution of these Kingdoms; and when that deluded Prince the late King James did withdraw his Countenance from us, as Men that were disloyal to him, he did, by turning his Back upon the Constitution, to which we have ever kept ourselves indissolubly united. And thus were we found upon the coming of our great Deliverer King William, to whose just Acknowledgments for our Services we owe, among other more substantial Privileges, those outward Marks of Dignity and Authority, which do at this Day decorate and distinguish the Persons of the chief Magistrate and chief Officers of our City. Nor were we less mindful of true Loyalty in the Infancy of our present happy Establishment, that genuine and fair Offspring of the glorious Revolution; our Conduct at that Time having been esteemed to be such, as to have deserved the public Approbation of the Commons of this Kingdom, in the Recommendation of us to his late Majesty for his Favour, on Account of important Services done by us in the promoting of his Succession. Such as

our City hath been, such is it now, in all Duty and Affection to the best of Princes, and in a most grateful Sense of the many Blessings we enjoy under his most auspicious Government. From a Consciousness of these Sentiments in ourselves, and from that hereditary Regard for Honour and for Justice, which hath rendered your Grace's Family so illustrious upon our Annals, as well as from the royal Dispositions of that most gracious Prince, whose Justice and Favour towards us you have the great Charge to administer ; We form to ourselves the well-founded Confidence, not only, that the Prosperity of this Kingdom in general will be the great Object of your Grace's Administration, but also, that under it we, ever persevering in our Loyalty, shall obtain all due Countenance to our City, and a Protection for those valuable Franchises which our Loyalty hath so honourably procured to us. In Testimony whereof, we have caused the common Seal of the said City to be hereto affixed, this 10th Day of December, 1759.

From

From this, your G - - - may learn the Sentiments of the Body Corporate of the Metropolis, concerning these *dreadful Riots, this Insurrection*. They partly eccho the Instructions given them in the Privy-Council, while they vindicate themselves bravely, though modestly, from the Imputation of Disloyalty cast upon them. They promise to endeavour to recover from Delusion, and to detect the Authors of the Delusion, *if such there be*. I need make no further Comments, it is enough to inform your G— that this Address received no Sort of Answer, and that the Instant it was delivered the L. L. turned his back, and left the Presence-Chamber. Thus the Method of *a--sing* has been lately introduced into Ireland.

But to speak more seriously, I would by no Means be thought an Advocate for any Sort or Degree of riotous or unlawful Assemblies, and least of all would I give any degree of Countenance to such about the Parliament-House, in Time of Session.

But, I hope I shall never see the People denied the Privilege of uttering their Grievances, or assembling and civilly telling the Members their Jealousies and Fears, and general Sentiments concerning any Matter depending before Parliament. I speak for England. Your G— and the Governors of Ireland, are the best Judges whether any, and what Distinction, is to be made in that Kingdom.

But it is still insisted on here, that there is an *actual Rebellion* or *Insurrection* in Ireland, which no Man has as yet had the Sense or Honesty to explain, or to contradict.

That an innocent, a legal, a constitutional, and an orderly, though an ill conducted Assembly, appeared at the Time mentioned, about the Parliament-House, is most true. That they were at first treated with, quieted, and dismissed by the Speaker, is no less true. And I must believe it as true, that if no farther Notice had been taken of them, instead of
censuring

cenfuring them the Day or two next following, much Infolence to the Members, much Trouble to the Council and Chief Governor, as well as to the Chief Magiftrates and Peace Officers of the City, and to the Army, would have been prevented.

But, be this as it may, it is certain, that with a little Military Execution, together with the Commons voting the Exportation of Irish Cattle, detrimental to the Country, this mighty Infurrection, that terrified fo many weak, and was magnified by fo many evil designing, Minds among us, is totally and abfolutely fuppreffed.

I cannot think it Right to conclude without putting your Gr. in Mind of fome Particulars relating to this flandered, this injured Country, which may not be unworthy of your Attention, as the Evils may be eafily provided againft by the Influence of one in your high Station.

Whatever People on this Side the Water may think to the contrary, there are many spirited, thinking Men in Ireland, who with a very evil Eye behold many unjust Distinctions made between them and others of his Majesty's Subjects, who are by no Means intitled to superior Privileges or Favours.

At all times, Pains have been taken to make the Name of Ireland and Irishmen hateful and frightful in this Country. There are many still living who remember the *Irish Fright*, as it was called, in the time of King William, when an universal Pannick spread itself throughout this Kingdom, from a Notion, for some vile Purpose raised and propagated among a credulous People, tho' founded on nothing better than a ridiculous Ballad. It was the universal Perswasion, at this Time, that the Irish were to rise, and come over into England, and in one Night, to massacre all the English, as they before had done the Danes in Ireland.

Without

Without ever considering of the Means or Difficulty of transporting so many as might perpetrate this horrid Deed, if so many could have been found ; several fled from their Habitations in the Country to the Towns for Refuge. The People of one Town fled to another ; and these, at the Sight of their frightened Neighbours approaching, fled from them, judging them to be the *Wild, Murdering Irish*. About this Time it was industriously taught, that the Irish had Wings and could fly, to solve the Difficulties of their being otherwise transported. And these Absurdities were always believed, and are so partly still, by the Vulgar, as much as our late Rebel-lions or Insurrections are now, by our wise Politicians.

Without entering into the knotty Consideration of making Laws here to bind that Kingdom, without its Consent, let me ask how comes the many shameful Distinctions between the Subjects of the same Crown kept up ? Why are the Irish denied the Common, natural Right of vending the Products and Manufactures

tures of their Country, all except Linen and Hempen Commodities ? And yet, when the later is the sole Branch of Trade allowed them, is it not most Extraordinary, that a Tax, equal to a Bounty given by the Trustees of the Linen Manufacture in Ireland, upon Sailcloth made there of Hemp of Irish Growth, was laid on here, to cramp that People in the sole Article of Commerce left them ; and this, while it appeared that we depended upon Foreign Nations for this important Commodity, whose Cloth was not found equal in Goodness to that of Ireland, which had not yet been exported to the Value of 7000 l. a Year, upon an Average ?

Is it not notorious, that when the Irish had fewest Inhabitants and least Manufactures among them, and had scarce any Commodities but small, lean, horned Cattle to export, a Duty equal to a Prohibition was laid here upon that wretched Trade ? And that now, when the number of Inhabitants and industrious Artizans are increased, after the People had by Necessity been drove into the, till
lately

lately unknown, Trade of fattening Oxen, and curing and transporting Beef; the Importation of live Catle is again laid open, to the Discouragement of Agriculture, and of all the Manufactures of that Kingdom?

But waving further Enquiries into numberless Hardships or Sights of this Kind cast upon this People, let me put your G. in Mind of an unaccountable Distress of another Kind brought frequently of late upon that ill-fated People. How come Bankruptcies so rife in that Kingdom? And this, more during the short Residence of the L—d L———t there, than in all the Time of his long Absence? See how few Bankers were able to stand in the Years 1753 and 1759, in Dublin. Does not this put your G. in Mind of the State of the Greek Islands in the Archipelago, after their biennial or triennial Visitation?

However well I may be inclined to think of the present Administration in Ireland, I cannot help believing what I have read in some Author too obscure to be cited or perhaps remembered. This
nameless

nameless Writer asserts, *that*, down to his Time, which makes it not far from the present Period, *there never was a Rebellion or Insurrection in Ireland, that was not apparently the Effects of an unjust, tyrannical Administration.* Happily I have been able to shew there is now no Grounds for thinking of any real Rebellion or Insurrection in that Kingdom, which keeps the present Administration free from the Imputation of Evil.

It is well worthy of your G. though a disagreeable Task, to enquire, why we are here so apt not only to suspect the Loyalty of the Irish, but to charge them, upon every slight Disturbance there, with the shameful, and to them most detestable Crime of running into Insurrections or Rebellions. There surely can be no Means found so effectual to raise their mutual Distrust in us, as our gross and frequent Abuse of them. When some of the Gentlemen of North Britain cast these Reflections, it must be from their judging that the Irish have some Cause of Discontent, superior to any that stirred up Disturbances in the North. And when we of
South

South Britain harbour such Sentiments of our Neighbours, does it not argue a Consciousness in us, that this People has not always been treated with as much Wisdom and Justice as might be wished, which raise our Fears. Or, do we not pay them too great a Compliment in allowing them such a Share of Understanding and Feeling, as upon Oppression may make them mad? Let us remove from them all Cause of Uneasiness or Discontent, before we let them imagine we can suspect them of Sentiments tending to disturb the Tranquillity, we above all Europe at this Time so eminently enjoy.

Thus, my Lord, I have in Jest or Earnest laid some Truths of no small Importance before you. They can be no other than Enemies to our King and his Subjects in general, who choose to malign or misrepresent any Part of the People, however remote or separate from the rest. Ireland, while equally and regularly governed must give great Strength and Security to Great Britain. And tho' unfortunately they cannot admit of an effectual Union,

as

as separate Kingdoms and distant Islands; yet by good Government they may in Effect be united to the mutual Honour, Interest and Security of the King and Subjects. This makes the true and indissoluble Connexion, which Knaves or Fools alone can think of breaking, by Partiality and unjust Distinctions.

Your G. has in many Instances proved your Love for the King and Royal Family. Add but one more; love Ireland, and use your Means to rescue a loyal, valuable People from Obloquy, if not Oppression, and so confer an additional Obligation on the Sovereign, as well as an indelible one on his good Subjects in Ireland,

My Intentions being thus laid open, your G. will pardon, if not applaud.

May it please your G.

Your G—'s most Obedient,

Dec. 30.
1759.

Humble Servant,

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A. FREEMAN.